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is the foundation of peace, there is no reason why such a policy should not be made both universal and permanent.

The rival armaments of the nations are not conducive to international goodwill. A certain widespread American periodical recently advocated the necessity of an increased navy "to drive away ill-disposed marauders." Such words can only produce ill feeling in other countries, whose governments are just as eager in their assertions that they arm only for defense.

But the average man in all countries is best satisfied with peace. It is this experience that has led Mr. K. P. Arnoldson of Sweden to conceive his plan for the promotion of international peace. Every citizen, he says, should bear an appropriate share of responsibility for the welfare, not only of his own nation, but of all mankind. With this principle for a basis, every adult person should be asked to sign the following declaration:

"If all other nations are willing to abolish their military organizations and content themselves with an international constabulary, I, the undersigned, wish that my own nation do likewise."

Later, Mr. Arnoldson has proposed the following alternative reading:

"I, the undersigned, desire international peace. I desire that national armaments be abolished, and that they be replaced by an international constabulary, to which every nation contribute in proportion to its population. I desire that this police force be placed under the order of a Supreme International Tribunal, to which all nations be bound to refer all international disputes."

Mr. Arnoldson thinks that such an exhortation, whether thus worded or otherwise, would be heeded by the best element in all countries. Even an average of ten per cent. throughout the world would be a magnificent response. If this can be accomplished, there would arise a new world-power,—*the united will of the nations*,—and at the next Hague Conference the various governments would have a moral support which would enable them to make a practical start toward general disarmament.

Either the coming Universal Peace Congress, to be held in Stockholm next September, or some universally known personality with the requisite influence, should issue a manifesto calling for such a peace canvass as the one proposed, accompanied by voting lists and definite instructions to the canvassers. The voting lists should consist of but one leaf, its front page containing the declaration and space for the names, occupations and addresses of the signers, and the other page a few brief comments. The lists should be circulated in various ways, as supplements to newspapers, etc., and be returned promptly with as many signatures as possible, either direct to the International Peace Bureau at Berne, or through the intermediary of the respective Peace Societies.

The idea of a mass petition to bring influence to bear upon the powers at the Hague Conference is not new. Miss Anna B. Eckstein of Boston is the author of a petition which was presented before the second Hague Conference, signed by some two millions of people, requesting the establishment of a general treaty of arbitration. She hopes to get a very much larger number of signers to a petition that she has already started for the third Hague Conference.

The realization of the Arnoldson plan could but serve

to forward Miss Eckstein's noble work. The success of both petitions, joined or not, would undoubtedly compel the earnest attention of the Conference.

How the Causes of War, Which Are Essentially External, May Be Removed.

Prof. William Hovgaard, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, writing in the first number of the *Scandinavian Times*, the organ of the new American-Scandinavian Society, declares that the causes of war are essentially external and that much may be done to abolish it by bringing about closer intercourse among the nations. He says:

"Difficulties among nations only too often lead to war, while difficulties among individuals, although relatively of as great importance, are generally settled in some peaceful way. This is in spite of the fact that differences in character and other inherent qualities among different nationalities are, at least within the white race, no greater than those existing among individuals belonging to the same nation.

"Nowhere is this more clearly brought out than in the United States. Under a generous and humane government, which does not use any coercion to bring about this result, a common language is willingly and rapidly acquired by the different nationalities who come to settle in this country. The common language makes an intimate intercourse possible, and through a wisely planned and complete school system all children are cast in the same educational mold. The intrinsic national differences are thus reduced to their true value, and it becomes apparent that they are of small significance compared with the disparities which are due to differences in language, traditions, customs and other external and incidental conditions. As a result of this, we witness the remarkable phenomenon, which has probably never before occurred on such a large scale in the history of the world, that people of different nationalities, which have during centuries repeatedly waged war against each other, come together in this country and live peacefully side by side, and in one or two generations come to reckon themselves as belonging to one nation.

"Hence, we may infer that the causes of war are essentially external, and that, if we could bring about a closer intercourse among nations, we should promote a better understanding, and this understanding would breed respect and sympathy. Thus we might hope eventually to establish a more advanced state in the relationship of nations, similar to that which already exists among individuals."

Then, after discussing briefly the various forms of international intercourse,—diplomatic, business, transfer of labor, immigration, visits, cultural,—and their influence in establishing goodwill and understanding, he continues:

"International intercourse has for various reasons increased enormously of recent years, and it may be said, without too much optimism, that war is now a more remote contingency than has formerly been the case, but much remains to be done before war is abolished as a means of settling difficulties among nations. It seems

clear, however, that one of the primary conditions for attaining this higher state of civilization is to make international intercourse more intimate and complete, and we should therefore organize and support it where needed and as far as possible remove the obstructions which hinder its development. Now, most of the forms of intercourse enumerated above are self-maintained or are provided for in various ways; only the two last named forms of cultural intercourse (visits of professors, teachers and other lecturers, for the purpose of *imparting knowledge*, and visits of teachers and of students of science, art, professions, etc., for the purpose of *acquiring knowledge*), which are still imperfectly developed, require nursing and support. It is believed that cultural intercourse is on the whole more effective in paving the way for the peace movement than any other form of intercourse, because it acts directly on the mind, and because it is generally free from any relation with causes of conflict among nations. Especially is this true of the two last named forms of cultural intercourse, which it is the object of the new society to further as far as the United States and Scandinavia are concerned. Professors, teachers, students and others, who have made a prolonged stay in the foreign country, bring home with them a knowledge of and a sympathy for the nation whose guest they have been. This knowledge and this feeling are transmitted to their countrymen, and in the case of teachers to the rising generation. In this way, therefore, will be laid the best possible foundation of future good understanding and sympathy.

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"Already other nations are working along the same lines as this society, although, as far as known, no organization such as the present has yet been established with the avowed sole purpose of furthering cultural intercourse among different nations. The American-Scandinavian Society is therefore a pioneer in this field, and on its success will in a large measure depend whether this movement shall be taken up in the same way by other nations.

"If the American-Scandinavian Society succeeds in establishing a permanent and fruitful intercourse between the United States and Scandinavia, it may therefore be hoped that its success will act stimulatingly on other nations, and that the movement will thus assume very large proportions. If this hope is realized, a groundwork will be laid for the upbuilding of that understanding and goodwill among nations which, better than any other conceivable means, will further the progress of the peace movement."

The Addition of Two New Battleships to Our Navy Altogether Unnecessary.

Speech of Hon. Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, on the Naval Appropriation Bill, in the House of Representatives, Friday, January 22, 1909.

Mr. Chairman: In discussing this question it is well at the outset to call attention to the growth of our national expenditures. The amount carried in this bill — \$135,000,000 — is twice as great as the net expenditures of the government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, and yet at that time our country contained 35,000,000 of people. If we deduct the interest on the

public debt, a legacy of the Civil War, the amount of our net expenditures in 1878 was less than the amount carried in this single bill. Where will this increase of the burdens of taxation, of growing national expenditure, stop? There is now in this country no opposition to this increasing expenditure which is at the same time aggressive and efficient. Party platforms declare against it. Speakers on the stump proclaim against the increase of our budgets, but individuals and parties alike must share the responsibility for the growing expenses of the government. There is no task more thankless than that of him who takes a stand for economy in either branch of Congress or in the executive government. Yet there is no place where this growing expenditure can be checked so rationally as in this naval bill. Twenty years ago the cost of the navy was but a little over twenty millions per year; but at the present rate of increase an annual expenditure of two hundred millions — yes, of two hundred and fifty millions — is near at hand.

The amount of the naval budget hampers necessary increases of salary; it prevents the expenditure of money upon public works; it stands in the way of most desirable extensions of the public service; it requires additional and, no doubt, burdensome sources of revenue. I desire to especially emphasize the fact to-day that the building of these two battleships is altogether unnecessary. We have now the second largest navy on the globe, notably in battleships, and one which in efficiency is at the very forefront. What nation on earth is threatening us? This periodical war scare occurs whenever we have a naval bill up here for consideration. [Applause.] One time it is Germany, one time it is England; but they have all passed away like phantoms of the air. That which this Congress should do is to provide for the rational needs of the people, and not seek to guard against groundless fear or phantoms of the imagination. [Applause.] We may trust the traditional friendship of Japan, and we may also trust the fact that she is in no condition, from an economic standpoint, to wage war with a great nation. We may trust that she will not engage in aggressive movements which are unjustifiable against a powerful nation of the Caucasian race. I say this with the concession that in all candor I should call attention to a factor of growing importance among our people in the last ten or twenty years, and that is the increase of racial repulsion, an influence which must be taken into account and which should in every way be repressed both by the national government and by the coöperation of individuals and state governments as well.

I usually agree with my friend from Iowa [Mr. Hepburn], but I cannot agree with his arguments to-day. He says we have had a war in each generation. The gentleman himself bore a noble part in one, for which he is entitled to all credit. But he adds we shall have another in each succeeding generation. That statement involves a careless reading of the history of the last one hundred years. The change from a condition, which a century ago or less was predominately one of war, to one now in which no nation can engage in conflict with another on light occasion, and in which the most serious differences are settled by peaceful means points to the morning dawn of peace and concord. An argument which he employs, it seems to me, may be used in support of this amendment providing for a lesser number of